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A Workforce Divided: Community, Labor, and the State in Saint-Nazaire's Shipbuilding Industry, 1880-1910, by Leslie A. Schuster

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scrap the constitution they had spent two years writing, depose Louis XVI and establish a regency in the name of the child dauphin, or ignore his perfidy and go forward with a constitutional monarch who had proven his disloyalty. Meanwhile, as various committees of the assembly deliberated at length on what to do with the recaptured king, the country, already deeply politicized by the events of the past two years, began to make judgments of its own. In Paris, the radical political clubs and the sections called for the deposition of the king and the declaration of a republic, mounting a campaign that deeply frightened the moderate majority of the assembly. As one of Tackett's most original chapters demonstrates, responses in the provinces were also intense. Stories about Austrian troops invading to avenge the king spread a panic analogous to the famous Great Fear through much of eastern France. All over the country, revolutionary militants stepped up their attacks on nobles and on clergy who had refused to take an oath to the constitution. Meanwhile, hundreds of declarations poured into the National Assembly from all over the country, most of them sharply critical of the monarch, some disdainful even to mention him and simply declaring their support for the assembly. When the assembly opted to exonerate the king and go forward with the plan for a constitutional monarchy, the provinces seem to have accepted this decision with good grace, but republican agitation in Paris surged, until the Champs de Mars Massacre on July 17, 1791, and the subsequent campaign of repression reduced it to sullen silence. The National Assembly got its constitutional monarchy, but the king's flight and the intense bout of political activism to which it gave rise destroyed the political unity and good feeling that might have enabled it to succeed.

Among its other virtues, Tackett's book restores Louis XVI's centrality to the history of the revolution. His portrait of the king—as pathologically indecisive and politically and socially maladroit—is sympathetic but ultimately damning. In Tackett's account, Louis's weak and vacillating will led the monarch, his family, and the nation of France into disasters that might well have been avoided. Tackett even suggests at one point that the history of the French Revolution might have been less tragic and bloody had the king's flight succeeded, because an unambiguous act of treason would have united all revolutionaries against the king and his foreign supporters, rather than leading them into bitter divisions among themselves. Tackett's thoughtful, beautifully written, and meticulously researched account of the king's flight makes it clear that while the French Revolution will always cry out for broad theoretical explanation, it also requires us to ponder the vagaries of personality and the fundamental contingencies of political events.

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LESLIE A. SCHUSTER. *A Workforce Divided: Community, Labor, and the State in Saint-Nazaire's Shipbuilding Industry, 1880–1910*. (Contributions in Labor Studies, number 58.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. x, 233.

In recent years, American women scholars studying French labor history have increasingly focused on the “gendering” of work and the rise of gender discrimination in French industry in the twentieth century. In this thoroughly researched monograph, however, Leslie A. Schuster returns to more traditional concerns about working-class formation, the origins of strike activity, and the dynamics of the French labor movement in the years preceding World War I. Her specific subject is the city of Saint-Nazaire. In the late nineteenth century, Saint-Nazaire emerged as France's leading center for the construction of ocean-going steamships as the site of the *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique's* Penhoët shipyard (for some reason, Schuster spells this “Penhouët” throughout). While Penhoët was achieving world renown at the turn of the century by building sleek, stylish oceanliners such as the *France*, the company's workers were gaining a reputation for militancy that attracted the attention of leading socialist politicians like Paul Lafargue and Fernand Pelloutier. For a time, it looked like the shipworkers of Saint-Nazaire might play a leading role in the coming proletarian revolution. The principal achievement of Schuster's book is to explain why the Saint-Nazaire workers ultimately shunned this role (and, by inference, why there was no proletarian revolution in prewar France).

Schuster begins by outlining the business history of Penhoët and the other Saint-Nazaire shipyards and by describing the formulation of government policies to stimulate and to protect domestic shipbuilding in France. These policies were especially important, in Schuster's estimation, because they exacerbated the cyclical nature of ship construction and thereby contributed to the recurring crises of unemployment that undermined the shipworkers' commitment to labor activism. After laying out the larger economic and political setting of the shipbuilding industry in the first two chapters, Schuster turns in the remaining four chapters to the social formation of the Saint-Nazaire workforce, workplace dynamics, labor politics, and the history of strike activity in Saint-Nazaire between 1881 and 1913.

As the book's title indicates, Schuster believes that the key factor in the history of labor at Saint-Nazaire was the presence of two distinct communities of workers. One of these consisted of peasant workers who came from, and continued to live in, the marshlands north of Saint-Nazaire known as the Brière. Their close-knit community had long depended on peat cutting for its livelihood. However, as the demand for peat for fuel declined after 1850, the Briérons moved into ship construction, secured training for their sons as skilled shipwrights, and soon established themselves

as the labor aristocracy of the Saint-Nazaire shipyards. Yet they continued to live in the Brière, and they continued to view themselves as peasant proprietors, not as industrial workers. Consequently, they associated little with the other main community of workers at Saint-Nazaire, low-skilled workers recently arrived from other parts of Brittany who lived in slum housing near the shipyards and who drew their identity mainly from their industrial employment.

This basic rural-urban split in the Saint-Nazaire workforce, Schuster argues, was the single biggest barrier to achieving a unified labor movement there and the chief reason for the repeated failure of strike actions in the shipyards. Strikes were frequent at Saint-Nazaire—Schuster counts thirty between 1881 and 1913—and all shipworkers usually participated in them, at least initially, but not necessarily for the same reasons. Whereas the unskilled urban workers usually made the classic demands—more job security, better working conditions, higher wages—the peasant workers from the Brière were preoccupied with maintaining their traditional way of life (getting time off to harvest peat, for example, took precedence over wage increases). The bosses soon learned to exploit these differences (along with the constant fear of layoffs), and they repeatedly succeeded in foiling strikes with divide-and-conquer tactics.

In addition to the urban-rural split among the shipworkers, Schuster takes pains to bring in other factors that contributed to the failure of strikes at Saint-Nazaire, including the inept intervention of outside labor organizers and socialist politicians. In the end, her book presents a well-rounded and convincing explanation for why socialism and syndicalism never took root among the shipworkers of Saint-Nazaire in the years before World War I. In doing so, the book helps us better understand why the French labor movement as a whole had so few successes in this era. It contributes to our understanding of working class formation in France by illuminating the various factors that molded the economic circumstances and the sense of identity of French workers. It also provides valuable information on the business history of French shipbuilding, and it attempts to clarify the bewildering intricacies of French shipping subsidies. For all these reasons, students of the social and economic history of modern France will find Schuster's book a welcome addition to the scholarly literature.

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JOHN HELLMAN. *The Communitarian Third Way: Alexandre Marc's Ordre Nouveau, 1930–2000*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 294. \$39.95.

There are two distinct aims of John Hellman's collective intellectual biography of Alexandre Marc and his "non-conformist" circle of the 1930s-1940s. One, overt, is to analyze their Christian-based "third way"

("neither right nor left") ideology and its ties to the "conservative revolution" of "white fascism" or to the left-leaning "national Bolshevism" of interwar German and Belgian youth culture. The second, subtler goal is to show how "modern Catholicism was altered by the invention of fascism," "repackaged" after the war as a "radical-progressive" "new theology" that inspired the Second Vatican Council and underpinned the "metapolitics" of the "European New Right" (pp. 190–91). An early footnote addresses the book's Canadian readers by citing Quebec separatism as a Canadian version of nonconformism, which, like Vichy, "assumed French Catholic cultural preeminence in a multicultural, pluralist society" (p. 11 n. 8). Not only Charles De Gaulle and François Mitterrand but also the Green (ecology) movement are joined as links in this elitist, antiliberal, and generational "counter-culture" that promoted "a white, Christian, federated Europe, uniting Germany and France against the Stalinist East, Third World immigration, Islamic fundamentalism, and American influence" (pp. 8, 12).

Marc, a Jewish-born Russian exile in Paris, converted to Catholicism in 1929 and devised the doctrine of "personalism" (with Emmanuel Mounier, a prior Hellman biographical subject) as a means of "Catholic renewal," toward "a New Order on earth" (p. 17). "Political mavericks" (p. 16) outside mainstream politics, Marc and his circle published several "erudite and arcane" journals (p. 158), including *Ordre Nouveau*, to speak for a new generation of "non-conformists" (Marc's term) who gathered in youth jamborees and outdoor retreats in Germany and Belgium. Claiming to transcend national and party divisions while drawn to the left-wing "deviationism" of Marcel Déat, Jacques Doriot, and Paul DeMan, as well as of Adolf Hitler's rival Otto Strasser, Marc's group extolled the youthful virility and antimaterialist "mystique" of early Nazism to incite a "revolt of the person" against "the spiritual decay of modern society" (pp. 35, 64, 92). Their publications, plus Marc's newly available letters and diaries, document for Hellman a "semi-secret," even "clandestine networking" (pp. 3, 19–20) that underlay Vichy's National Revolution and then resurfaced "at the centre of postwar French intellectual and political life" (p. 182).

In roughly chronological order, and in painstaking detail, Hellman traces the correspondence, encounters, and affinities or linkages across the network of "astute non-conformist technocrat[s] and ideologue[s] [who] could easily move from one kind of alternative to liberal democracy to another" (p. 112). The narrative, too, jumps back and forth across national boundaries, sometimes puzzling the reader with multiple references such as to Strasser's "Black Front" or the "Night of the Long Knives" without a clear definition of terms. The chronology highlights continuities from 1930 through the liberation of France but limits discussion of Vichy itself to a section on "the knight-monks of Uriage" (the *École Nationale des Cadres*)